

The University of Chicago

THE SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS OF
A SELECTED GROUP OF GERMAN-
BACKGROUND PROTESTANT
CHURCHES IN CHICAGO

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

DECEMBER, 1940

By
SHARVY GREINER UMBECK

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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INTRODUCTION

As a study in adaptation this document is primarily concerned with the modifications and changes which have been effected in the Chicago German background Protestant churches, and with the forces and factors which have conditioned these adaptations. It is obviously impossible to study any city apart from its hinterland; similarly, it is impossible to isolate completely the Chicago churches from their wider Synodical affiliations. It was, therefore, frequently necessary to describe adaptation in the Chicago churches in terms of the adaptation of these overhead organizations. This may be justified, however, by the fact that the Chicago churches and their pastors have consistently been leaders in the local District Synods operating in this area.

The Evangelical Synod of North America, which is one of the bodies included in this study, no longer exists as such, but is now a part of the newly-formed Evangelical and Reformed Church. This study does not include the three Chicago congregations which were formerly a part of the Reformed Church in the United States. They were omitted for two primary reasons: (1) the merger was not yet an organic union when this study was undertaken, (2) the churches from the Reformed group have come out of a tradition distinctly separate from the tradition of the Evangelical Synod churches.

Furthermore, we have omitted from this study those denominations whose members are, for the most part, of German extraction, but whose history in the New World has been more or less intimately related to Old Line American denominations. German Baptists, German Methodists, and the Evangelical Association are among the groups included on this basis. These denominations distinctly have not been subjected to many of those difficulties of rebirth in a new culture such as have beset the path of the German Lutheran Synods and the Evangelical Synod. The Missouri Lutheran Synod, the Evangelical Synod, and the United Lutheran Church are the major German background Protestant bodies in Chicago, and it is to them that we have devoted most of our attention.

Data for this study were gathered from the following sources: published histories of these denominations, minutes of local and general Synods, Synodical church papers, church records of individual congregations, monthly papers of individual congregations, special jubilee publications of individual congregations and interviews with pastors. In addition, worship services of about one hundred churches were attended by the writer.

In general, the writer is committed to the theory that the real theology of the religious institution is more manifest in its behavior than in its preachments. We are inclined, therefore, to place more emphasis on what churches do than on what they say.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN-BACKGROUND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHICAGO, 1835-1881

The first German-background Protestant church in Chicago was organized in 1843. This congregation was the spontaneous outgrowth of the desire of the Chicago Germans for an organized religious society. In 1848, a split occurred between the congregation and its first pastor, the Reverend Mr. Selle. The original congregation called a new minister and joined the Evangelical Synod, while Pastor Selle organized a new church in the same community and joined the Missouri Lutheran Synod.

By a simple process of fission, the Evangelical Synod enterprise was soon expanded into four congregations, and the Missouri Synod into nine congregations. Churches were founded, became independent and reproduced themselves with amazing rapidity. Each minister considered himself a responsible missionary for the areas surrounding his own particular parish. "Daughter" congregations were established in remote portions of the parish as soon as the need for such became apparent. This "common sense" method of reckoning the opportune moment for planting a church resulted in a minimum of waste effort. Branch churches became self-supporting almost from the very beginning. There were no formal Synodical mission boards to direct and subsidize church extension from far removed offices. Time-consuming surveys and committee meetings and reports to annual conferences were not an essential part of church extension procedure in early Chicago.

The general steps in this type of church extension seem to have been as follows:

1. An established congregation, noting that some of its children are compelled to travel an extremely long distance to school, proceeds to establish a branch school in that remote portion of the parish from which these children come.
2. This school draws into itself not only the children of members of the church but also the children of many non-members. Fre-

- quently the parochial school is established in an outlying community long before public school facilities are provided.
3. The pastor of the church institutes weekly evening worship services in the branch school for the Germans living in that community.
 4. A meeting is called, usually led by a nucleus of members of the parent institution, and a branch congregation is organized.
 5. A minister is called--frequently the assistant pastor of the mother church.
 6. Lots are purchased and a church erected thereon. Usually the mother church donates the original school property to the newly founded organization.
 7. School teachers and an assistant minister are engaged as soon as possible.
 8. When the need develops, a branch school is established.

At the close of the period 1843-1881, there were thirteen Missouri Lutheran and four large Evangelical Synod congregations located in the present-day bounds of Chicago. Other German Lutheran Synods accomplished practically nothing in this period. The German Wartburg Synod, organized in 1876, had to content itself with establishing two churches for members splitting from Evangelical Synod Churches. The Joint Synod of Ohio seems to have accomplished most of its expansion in Chicago at the expense of the Missouri Lutheran body.

As for the English Lutheran Denominations--they made considerable progress among the Chicago Scandinavians. Among the Germans they accomplished very little. In 1855 a mission was established on Monroe Street under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society of the General Synod. Reverend T. W. Kemp was the missionary. The project was abandoned in 1861, and the property was sold to the Jews. Not until 1882 did the General Synod attempt another mission in Chicago.

About four years before the Great Fire a church was erected at Dearborn and Ontario Streets by Dr. Frank Richards who was subsidized by the Pittsburg Synod of the General Council. The Fire destroyed this building in 1871. In 1874 the former members of this mission organized the Holy Trinity Church at Elm and La Salle Streets. Holy Trinity, then, was the first English Lutheran Church to be permanently established in Chicago. A second such congregation, the Wicker Park Church, was founded at N. Hoyne and

LeMoyne Avenues in 1879.

A number of factors account for the inability of the General Synod and the General Council to establish more churches in Chicago in this early period.

1. Chicago was still too young to have produced a significant number of second generation Germans.
2. Organized and formal church extension programs directed by overhead societies with headquarters far away in Pittsburg or Philadelphia could hardly hope to cope with the spontaneous and enthusiastic efforts of Synods whose men were working out their own problems right in the field.
3. The old established Lutheran bodies of the East were completely absorbed in keeping their own heads above water in the process of Synodical disintegration which was threatening them.
4. Since the early German immigrants had settled, for the most part in rural America, and since, in 1880, only 28.6 per cent of the people in the United States lived in cities, the Synods had come to look upon home mission work as essentially a rural enterprise.
5. The English Synods had abandoned, generally speaking, the parochial school. The Missouri Synod and the Evangelical Synod used the parochial school very effectively as an instrument of church extension in Chicago.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN-BACKGROUND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHICAGO 1882-1907

The period 1882-1907 was the "Golden Age" of Home Missionary work among the German-background Protestants in Chicago. Synodical Church Extension Boards which hitherto had paid little heed to this rapidly growing midwestern city, suddenly discovered the tremendous possibilities which Chicago held for Lutheranism. One after another these overhead organizations came to concentrate their money and manpower in Home Mission work in Chicago.

This was an age of dramatic growth for those bodies which had early taken root in Chicago and which were operating in the German language. The Missouri Lutherans added almost 25,000 members to their Chicago rolls. The Evangelical Synod, while not so eminently successful as the Missouri Synod, was able to generate and sustain a remarkable missionary vigor throughout the period.

The general pattern, whereby the mission churches of the Evangelical Synod were founded was as follows:

1. A certain community was designated by Evangelical ministers in Chicago as likely field for a German Church.
2. The Reiseprediger or other local Evangelical ministers, would hold a few services in the community in a store or a school house to test out the community and stir up interest.
3. A minister was sent to the field to build up the congregation subsidized by the Inner Mission Board.
4. A meeting of all interested parties would be called to select a church council and to draw up a constitution.
5. Lots would be bought and a church erected on them.
6. As soon as possible the church declared itself self-supporting.

The Missouri Lutheran Synod carried on its church extension work in this second period with much the same enthusiasm and technique which had made it so successful in the earlier period. A total of twenty-eight Missouri Lutheran Churches were established in Chicago between the years 1882-1907. Of these, at

least sixteen took their origin by separating from a "mother" congregation. The Home Mission Board felt at first no special need for stepping into the Chicago picture--the local pastors were doing a very excellent job in extending the Missouri Lutheran Cause.

As a general rule, the branch churches were established in areas out beyond the parent congregations--out toward the city limits. This meant, then, that each succeeding generation of "daughter" churches found itself farther removed from the inner city area and the area of "first settlement" than was the parent church. Churches in the outer areas of the city were operating in more Americanized communities--hence their growth was somewhat slower. The result was that, by the middle of the eighties some of these parent congregations needed help in bringing the branch institutions to a state of maturity. As the need arose, the Synod would grant subsidies to these congregations. Nevertheless, until 1900, the large old congregations like Trinity, Bethlemlen and St. Johannis with their enthusiastic and resourceful pastors, continued to bear the brunt of the church extension work. As late as 1897 we find only four Chicago stations receiving Synodical mission aid--a total of \$1,523.00.

With the decline of German immigration in the nineties, the Missouri Synod began to seek out the glaubensbrüdern in other language and nationality fields. Congregations were organized among the Chicago Poles, Estonians, Slovaks, and Latvians, and services were conducted for them in their respective tongues. It was even suggested that a Jewish mission, similar to the one in New York, be started in Chicago. It was decided, however, to postpone this step. The general ingenuity and resourcefulness of the Missouri Synod pastors of this period seems to have reached something of a high point when, in 1893, Pastor P. A. Reinke instituted services for the deaf and dumb in Chicago.

Other German Lutheran bodies accomplished very little in Chicago in this period. The Ohio Synod founded only one congregation--the Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church at 61st Street and Marshfield Avenue, 1888. The Iowa Synod added no congregations to its Chicago roll. The Wartburg Synod, carrying on the German work of the General Synod, succeeded in establishing the following missions: Nazareth (1885), St. Thomas (1885), St. Simon (1889), Bethel (1890), and Jerusalem (1890). Nazareth and St.

Thomas joined the Evangelical Synod in 1895. The Jerusalem congregation disbanded in 1910. Consequently, the Wartburg Synod today has only two churches to show for all its missionary activity of the period 1882-1907.

The two English Lutheran bodies--the Synod of Northern Illinois and the Chicago Synod--established mission congregations in Chicago early in this period. The lot of most of these missions was not a happy one. All of them had to be subsidized over long periods, many of them ultimately had to be abandoned or federated with stronger churches in neighboring communities. Despite the huge sums of money spent on these missions, at the close of this period the North Illinois Synod had only ten Chicago churches with a total of 1,508 members, and the Chicago Synod had eleven churches with 1,644 members.

The decline of German immigration in the nineties cut off the hitherto unfailing supply of mission material at its very source. Urban population movements proceeded, thereupon, to remove a large proportion of Germans from the areas of first settlement--those areas wherein the earliest churches had been planted. At the turn of the century we find many of the old inner city congregations beginning to decline in membership. With the sources of German recruits cut off, the Missouri and Evangelical Synods were compelled to adopt a less uncompromising attitude toward the Americanization tendencies which had long been apparent in their congregations.

These factors, together with the sudden display of missionary activity on the part of the English Lutheran Denominations in the closing years of the period, gave ample evidence that the next decades would "belong to" the English groups.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN-BACKGROUND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHICAGO, 1908-1938

This most recent period in the history of German-background Protestantism in Chicago stands out in sharp contrast to the preceding period. (1) Synodical mergers characterized this period. (2) The English language came to the fore, and the greatest membership gains were made by those bodies which made the most adequate provisions for work in this tongue. (3) Home Mission policies were revised. Whereas church extension policies of the earlier periods were aimed at gathering the unchurched Lutherans ("Fellow believers," Glaubensbrüdern) into congregations, the program was extended to include all unchurched individuals regardless of nationality or religious backgrounds.

Most of the churches planted in the period 1908-1938 were established in the outlying sections of present-day Chicago--the frontier areas in Chicago's latest great period of expansion. While these new communities contained many people of German descent, the areas did not take on the distinctly German characteristics which had made it comparatively easy to single out the Lutheran background parishes of the earlier periods. German speaking denominations now had to address themselves to an American audience--to people who were not formerly members of the Lutheran or Evangelical churches of Germany, to people in whom the "faith of the Fatherland" had been "washed out" and who were now a part of the unchurched English-speaking American population.

The English-speaking denominations (the Chicago Synod and the North Illinois Synod) had been working for several decades under just these conditions. Their dearly-purchased experience now stood them in good stead, for they found themselves in possession of church extension organizations and methods which gave them a decided advantage over the German-speaking Synods. Furthermore, the English Lutheran groups in Chicago did not have to weather the internal difficulties of language change to which the

Missouri, Wartburg, and Evangelical Synods were subjected.

All German-background denominations suffered severe setbacks as a result of the World War. The most significant effect of the War was the rapid introduction of the English language into the German-speaking congregations.

In the twenties the rapidly developing subdivisions on the outskirts of the city became the battlefields of the various Home Mission Boards. Competition waxed so keen that it was necessary to enter a given subdivision almost as soon as it opened, even before the prospective members arrived. Synods invested large sums in chapels which were far beyond the immediate needs of the community. The philosophy of such investments was quite in harmony with the real-estate speculation which characterized urban expansion in the twenties. This was an ecclesiastical form of gambling for souls.

In the period of the depression all efforts came to be concentrated on consolidating positions and "holding what we have." In order to reduce budgeted expenditures these groups were called upon to re-examine and re-evaluate their Synodical organizations and ecclesiastical functions. This inventory revealed much that was not pleasant. The prosperity of the twenties seems to have acted as an anesthesia, blinding the Synods to the general inefficiency of their methods. Membership growth in the twenties, it should be noted, was never proportional to the rate at which new churches were founded.

Throughout the depression a number of mission congregations were merged, others were told that they would have to become self-supporting within specified time limits. Many of the missions which had been pauperized by long years of Synodical support were compelled to try to stand on their own feet. In most cases, they were amazed at the resources which they were able to muster when faced with extinction.

The North Illinois Synod and the Chicago Synod gained a total of 12,219 members, the Evangelical Synod, which made a more rapid shift to the English language than did the North Illinois District of the Missouri Synod, was able to report a gain of 9,353 members. The Missouri Synod divided its work in Chicago into two sections: that carried on by the District of North Illinois in both German and English languages, and that carried on by the English District in the English language. A net loss of some 5,288

members was reported by the bi-lingual body, whereas the English District gained 10,505 members. Progress of the German Wartburg Synod, the German Iowa Synod, and the German Ohio Synod was relatively insignificant.

CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL ADAPTATIONS OF THE GERMAN-BACKGROUND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHICAGO: LANGUAGE

The language factor has undoubtedly presented the most troublesome problem in the adjustment of foreign-born religious groups to the American culture. Among the Chicago Lutheran churches, the transition from German to English language did not occasion as many congregational splits, nor were the disruptive tendencies as pronounced as in the East when the older Lutheran bodies faced the same issue. The Chicago German congregations had before them the sad experiences of the General Synod and the General Council in the East, and could govern themselves accordingly. By the time the language problem reached the Chicago German churches, the Missouri Lutheran Synod and the Evangelical Synod had learned to provide for the English constituency within the German congregations.

The following stages can be discerned in the natural history of a German-speaking church in transition:

1. The minister is called upon to conduct weddings, funerals and baptisms in the English language. Certain scattered families in his membership indicate, thereby, a preference for the English tongue. At first these English ceremonies are not held in the church auditorium, but rather in the homes of the members involved. Not until the status of the English ceremony becomes clearly defined do we find English weddings, baptisms, and funerals performed in the church building itself.
2. An English class is organized in the Sunday School. Usually thirty years of age. Such groups have been known to take matters in their own hands and organize an English Bible class without the permission of the church administrators. Once a few scattered advocates of English work in the Sunday School become organized, the church is compelled to comprise its position or lose the whole group.
3. Additional English classes are organized, and these are segre-

gated into an English section of the Sunday School. Invariably, the spread of English in the Sunday School was very rapid--English programs found fertile soil among the second and third generation Germans.

4. An all-English Sunday School is established. This school usually met at a different hour than did the German Sunday School. So rapidly did the Sunday Schools change from German to English that the Synodical overhead organizations could not, or would not, provide adequate lesson materials in the English language. As a consequence, many Sunday Schools, especially among the Evangelical churches, turned to Presbyterian and Methodist Publishing Houses for their printed lesson materials. A rapid infiltration of the religious views of Old Line American Protestant bodies inevitably followed.
5. English speaking subsidiary organizations are founded--such as a Junior Ladies' Aid Society, a Young Peoples' Society, etc. Usually these new organizations were split from the older German organization. Very seldom did a Ladies' Aid Society or a Young Peoples' Society attempt to operate in two languages--almost invariably the solution was to divide the organization on a language basis. It is interesting to note that this solution--separation on a basis of language--was traditional in these German Protestant Bodies. The Missouri Synod, for example, in its earlier years refused to accept English congregations into its Synodical membership, and recommended the organization of a separate and independent English Missouri Lutheran Synod.
6. An occasional English worship service is conducted to appeal to the large number of young adults in the Sunday School who refuse to attend German worship services. These first English services are frequently held at the less desirable hours, such as eight o'clock in the morning, or Sunday night. In spite of the tremendous success which usually greeted these occasional English services, such services were not, in many cases, immediately put on a regular basis due to the difficulty many of the pastors encountered in preaching in English--English sermons required long and tedious preparation.
7. Regular English worship services are instituted as a part of the established church program. These services are conducted alongside the German services, for the church is now officially

bi-lingual. In each church, the ratio of English to German services gradually turns over. At first the ratio of German services to English services per month may be 4-1, then 4-2, 4-3, and ultimately 4-4. Thereafter the German services are slowly dropped until there may be only one each month, and finally German is altogether discontinued. Variations of this schedule were adopted by the different congregations, but the general proportionate pattern remains about the same. Some churches, for example, held both German and English services every Sunday morning, others alternated German and English each Sunday, etc.

8. German services are discontinued. Most churches are very slow about taking this final step. The last remnants of German are a long time disappearing. Churches will continue to conduct German services for a mere handful of members until some cataclysmic event in the life of the congregation deals a death blow to the German tongue. The World War, changes of pastorate, death of a prominent German member, and relocation of the church have been most prominent in putting an end to German services in the Chicago congregations.

Only four of the Evangelical Synod churches which once conducted all services in the German language have completed this cycle to a point where they conduct all services in English. Not one Chicago Missouri Lutheran congregation has gone through the complete cycle from an all-German to an all-English institution, although a number of congregations which were founded as bi-lingual churches have dropped the German.

A number of factors conditioned the rapidity with which individual churches adopted the English language: the presence of a parochial school; the ability of the pastor to speak English; constitutional safeguards; the number of foreign-born Germans in the parish; the number of competing English-speaking churches in the community; policies of the Synodical overhead organization.

American culture, not just English language, was feared by conservative Germans. Careful analysis of the natural history of a church which is undergoing a language change reveals that the pulpit is the last place into which the English language is able to penetrate. English apparently enters all other phases of the church's activities before it is able to enter the pulpit. This fact would seem to indicate that it was not merely the English

language against which the conservative German was fighting, but it was all that for which the language stood. The acceptance of the new language meant the complete acceptance of the culture of which the English was but a symbol.

Further indication that it was "American ideas" and "American Spirit" which was feared rather than the English language is to be found in the fact that Poles, Esthonians, Slovaks, and Latvians were organized into Missouri Synod Lutheran congregations in Chicago and served in their respective tongues long before a Missouri Lutheran English mission was established in this city. Even the deaf and the dumb were objects of home mission endeavors in Chicago before the English speaking population was approached. All this, despite the fact that elsewhere in the Synod the English missions were bringing in a larger per dollar harvest than any other language group including the German. Some indication of the anti-English sentiment in the Chicago Missouri Lutheran churches is suggested when it is observed that in 1897 the Illinois District raised three times as much money for Negro missions as for English missions--\$5,612 for Negro missions as against \$1,751 for English missions.

Adoption of the English language has represented, for the German churches of Chicago, a major step in the process of assimilating the total American culture. The abandonment of the language of the Fatherland marked the emergence of these bodies from the category of immigrant institutions into the main stream of American Protestant denominations. As the protection of the German language disappears, these churches are exposed to the full impact of American culture. The processes of accommodation and assimilation operate much more rapidly once the language barrier has been battered down.

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL ADAPTATIONS OF THE GERMAN-BACKGROUND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHICAGO: THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL

The English Synods have never established any parochial schools in Chicago, but the Missouri Synod and the Evangelical Synod inaugurated school programs almost as soon as organized efforts were undertaken in Chicago. Pastor Selle, first permanent pastor of the First St. Paul Church, established a parochial school immediately after taking over his new charge. Thereafter, for almost fifty years, each Missouri Synod and Evangelical Synod congregation operated its own parochial school. Sometimes the school was established before a church organization could be effected.

Many churches hired special teachers to bear the burden of parochial school instruction, in other congregations the pastor himself had to take charge of the Gemeindeschule. Great caution was exerted in selecting these teachers, especial attention was paid to their religious convictions. With very few exceptions, these teachers were males.

At no time did the schools of the Evangelical Synod approximate the numerical strength of the Missouri Synod Schools. The former body has never emphasized the educational function of its churches to the same extent as has the Missouri Synod. In fact, the Evangelical Synod did not pay a great deal of attention to its schools until their existence was threatened by state legislation in the nineties.

Due to its emphasis on "pure teaching," the Missouri Synod has always recognized the essential role played by its schools in maintaining its conservative doctrinal position. The Missourians frankly admit that their objection to public schools is not so much the lack of religious training, but rather false religious teachings in those institutions. No doubt this careful watch over the training of their children has been a significant factor in

their ability to keep at a minimum the diluting or compromising of their tenets.

In 1890 the schools of the Evangelical Synod reached a peak of 1,265 students in 13 schools. The next decade witnessed a rapid decline so that by 1900 there were only 8 schools left with a total of 673 students. All Evangelical Synod Gemein-deschulen have now been closed, the last congregation to abandon its school was the Trinity church at 22d Place and South Roby Street. This school closed in 1928. Four primary factors contributed to the rapid decline of the Evangelical Synod schools in Chicago: legislation directed against these schools; financial stress, the language problem, low academic standards.

The Missouri Synod schools reached a peak in 1893 when 26 schools boasted a combined enrollment of 8,786 scholars. After a period of regression which reached a low of 7,691 students in 1898 (in spite of the fact that the number of schools had increased to 30), the total enrollment climbed back to 8,780 students in 34 schools in 1902. Since that time, despite the increase in number of schools, the number of students has steadily decreased. In 1910 there were 6,874 students in 38 schools; in 1920, 6,224 students in 39 schools; in 1930, 5,823 students in 44 schools; and in 1938, 5,450 students in 43 schools. The peak in the number of Gemeindeschulen was reached in 1927 and 1928 when the Missouri Synod had 45 such institutions in Chicago.

The first question one will ask, of course, is: Why has the Missouri Synod been able to maintain its schools in the face of the same destructive forces which did away with the Evangelical Synod schools? A number of factors are responsible: The Missouri Synod has had larger schools; she has given her schools more attention from the very beginning; she has developed a keener sensitivity to social changes; she has provided more adequate training for her teachers; she has maintained higher academic standards; she has placed greater stress on protecting the "pure teachings."

The following trends are apparent in the Chicago Missouri Lutheran Parochial Schools:

1. There has been a steady decline in enrollment since 1903.
2. The average size of these schools has been decreasing since 1883.
3. The proportion of Chicago Missouri Synod churches which have

no school is increasing.

4. There has been a steady decline in the number of pupils per teacher.
5. The proportion of female teachers in these schools has increased.
6. The period 1867-1890 witnessed an increase in the amount of time devoted to subjects already taught. The period 1890-1928 witnessed an increase in the number of courses offered.
7. From a position whereby she granted the state no authority whatsoever in supervising parochial schools, the Missouri Synod has withdrawn to a position where the state has supervision of everything except religious instruction.
8. There has been a consistent trend toward the establishment of a Missouri Lutheran Parochial School System.

It should be stressed that a steadily increasing proportion of Missouri Lutherans in Chicago are finding themselves members of churches which do not support a parish school. This trend is particularly significant because it indicates to the Missouri Synod the fact that its churches can not only hold their own, but can actually make progress without the aid of a parochial school. As a matter of fact, since 1910, the total membership of those congregations which do not support a school has increased much more rapidly and much more consistently than those congregations which are burdened with a school. This evidence is proving quite damaging to those who argue that the abandonment of a parochial school policy will be disastrous to the Synod.

In earlier days the parochial school served as a very useful instrument in building up the Missouri Lutheran churches in Chicago. Today, however, the question may be raised: Has the Christian Day School outgrown its period of usefulness? Is it becoming a "white elephant" in the hands of the Synod? Further attempts to perpetuate this declining institution will serve to drain the finances of the Synod. Although the Missouri Lutherans still outwardly subscribe to the statement: "If the Lutheran Church ever permits its schools to die, its end will be at hand," it is becoming increasingly obvious that the congregations can not increase financial support to the schools without eating into the funds for maintenance of the churches themselves. It is quite probable that the Missouri Synod will be compelled to develop new instruments with which to shelter the "pure truth" she

bears. It is doubtful if any of the new instruments can ever effect the protective isolation which language and school have created in their day.

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL ADAPTATIONS OF THE GERMAN-BACKGROUND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHICAGO: OTHER

Ecclesiastical Organization

The American policy of the separation of church and state has compelled the German-background churches to set up their own ecclesiastical organizations in this country. In Europe, the Lutheran bodies and the Evangelical Synod had been state institutions--their organizations had been embodied in the political structure itself. Pastors were paid, churches were built, and seminaries were operated with moneys raised by the state through taxation. Church membership was coincident with citizenship.

In the United States, these transplanted churches have had to establish a type of church government which is consistent with the policy of the separation of church and state. Amazingly uniform are the ecclesiastical organizations which the various German-background Protestant churches have established in America. The general pattern of representative democratic government has been adopted. The system of national and state legislative bodies, and national and state executives, as found in the government of the United States, has been rather closely copied in a system of district Synods and General Synods.

Most of the districts operating in the Chicago area first came into being as small independent local Synods. At an early date they united with one of the larger ecclesiastical organizations. The early formative years of these small local Synods were filled with numerous operative problems. Such apparently simple matters as the licensing of pastors, and the recording of pastoral changes gave no end of trouble.

Frequently the experience of Eastern bodies could serve to guide decisions of German-background denominations in the Chicago area. More often, however, the unique conditions of the frontier communities forced Synods to resort to the trial and error process of establishing rules and regulations. From this

period of chaos there gradually emerged mature Synodical organizations with crystallized rules and regulations for maintaining orderliness in all procedures. It should be noted that those bodies which had to start "from scratch," such as the Missouri Lutheran Synod and the Evangelical Synod, developed a more indigenous and more workable organization than did those bodies which were directly aided by Eastern Synods.

In Europe these churches had not been compelled to go out and get members--everyone within a given political area was, by virtue of his citizenship, also a member of the state church. Here in America, these churches were thrown into competition with other religious groups in the efforts to win members. Individuals could be won to the church only by direct and personal appeal. This meant that soul-winning techniques had to be developed if the church was to survive. Evangelistic procedures of some of the Old Line American denominations were not exactly compatible with the sober genius of Lutheranism, but, in modified form, some of the procedures were adopted.

Most of the soul-winning programs of the German-background churches, however, have not been of the emotional type. Instead, what might be called the "educational method" of bringing new members into the church has been dominant. Until recently, this educational approach worked quite satisfactorily--if we measure success by the number of members taken in by these bodies.

Home Mission and church extension techniques also had to be developed by the transplanted immigrant churches. The house-to-house canvass, the Reiseprediger, the system of subsidizing newly organized churches, and the practice of church planting were modelled after the church extension habits of the older American denominations.

Rebirth in an American environment also called for the adoption of money-raising methods. In Germany, the state had paid the running expenses of the churches--paid the pastors' salaries, built the churches, supported the seminaries, etc. Free-will offerings were used almost exclusively for missionary purposes. In America, these churches had to support themselves. The German immigrant had to learn to give generously of his income to the support of his church. Apparently he learned well to assume his obligation, for the records of the early Chicago churches repeatedly tell of members who made great personal sacrifices to support

their respective churches--private homes and business establishments were sometimes mortgaged to raise money for the church. In general, the money-raising methods of the native American churches were adopted.

Attitude toward the State

All German-background Protestant denomination has insisted upon the doctrine of complete separation of church and state. Not only have they held that the church must not meddle in state affairs, but they have also insisted that the state must not interfere with church affairs. It is clear that the Lutheran denominations look upon the church and the state as operating in altogether different fields and as operating under altogether different standards. The ethics of the state and the ethics of the church are not the same. Although the individual Christian should perform his civil duties as a citizen of the state, the church of which he is a member must remain aloof. The job of the church is to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments.

In accord with this philosophy, the German-background bodies refrained from interfering with the legislative functions of the state until their ecclesiastical functions were attacked by the state, or until specific legislative acts seemed to grant special advantage to some competing religious body. The first prominent instance of state interference occurred in 1889, when the Edwards Bill was passed by the Illinois legislature. This bill jeopardized the existence of the parochial schools, and the churches did not hesitate to bring pressure to bear upon the state legislature to have the law repealed.

Of the German-background bodies working in Chicago, the Missouri Lutheran Synod seems repeatedly to be the most alert in discerning legislation which is potentially injurious to its ecclesiastical interests. It should also be noted, however, that the Missouri Lutheran Synod has been the most careful to confine her "meddling in state affairs" to situations wherein her own ecclesiastical rights are challenged. The English Synods have not been quite so restricted in their policy of influencing legislation--but even among them we find deviations from the doctrine of church and state are few and prominent. The Evangelical Synod has been more active in seeking to influence legislation than have

the other German-background Protestant denominations.

Sensitivity to Social Issues

The position of the German-background churches with regard to the separation of church and state is reflected in the attitude taken toward social issues. Traditionally, the German Protestant churches in America have held that the primary business of the church is to save souls for life hereafter; salvation of souls for this world has been of only secondary importance. This must not be taken to mean that the Lutheran and Evangelical Synod churches have no interest in helping to build a more Christian social order. These bodies feel that the real cause of social evils is the wickedness of people in this world. The best and surest way to establish a Christian social order, then, is through individual regeneration, through converting these wicked people to the Pure Christian Truths. They call this "working from the inside out." Rather than tell people how to deal with war, the saloon, the dance hall, etc., the German-background Protestant bodies tell people how to be Christians. This is accomplished by preaching "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." People who are converted will then spontaneously know what to do about war, the saloon, the dance hall, etc.

Among the Chicago churches, the Missouri Lutheran Synod and the American Lutheran Church have been consistent in refusing to deal with social problems except in those cases where a particular social evil has worked hardship on the church. Since the period of the World War, the Evangelical Synod and the Illinois District of the United Lutheran Church have manifested an increasing interest in social issues. The Evangelical Synod congregations seem to have developed a higher degree of sensitivity to such issues than have the United Lutheran churches. Although these bodies are talking much more about social problems than formerly, they consistently point out the fact that the real cause of all the trouble is an "inadequate spirituality." From the very pulpits in which social problems are most frequently discussed we also hear that the only solution is to make Christians of all men. Rare indeed is the sermon which shows any recognition of the brainpower which will have to be expended and the organization which will have to be effected in order to solve the

major social problems of the day.

Apparently a sensitivity to social issues is entering the individual churches through the subsidiary organizations--especially the Young People's organizations and Brotherhoods. Lecturers, discussion programs, and literature of these organizations have in recent years displayed a deep interest in contemporary social problems. Sooner or later this interest will be reflected in the pulpits of these churches. Already one hears from the pulpits of the German-background Protestant churches of Chicago much more of a "social gospel" than the highly diluted conference resolutions would lead one to expect. Especially among the younger pastors does one find unexpected stress on international peace, international disarmament, unemployment problems, child labor, race relations, etc. Needless to say, the "social gospel" is much more prominent in the English services than in the German services of these congregations.

CHAPTER VII

MAJOR REACTIONS

Dr. S. C. Kincheloe has given the name "major reactions" to the techniques by which Protestant congregations in the urban area try to survive. He points out that "In Chicago these major reactions are those of downtown churches, the churches which move, federate, or die, rescue and church missions, institutional churches, Christian centers and neighborhood houses, and primitive Christian churches."¹ Characteristically, it is in the inner areas of the city where social change has been most rapid and most acute and where, accordingly, the adjustments of Protestant churches have been most frequent and most profound.

It is significant to note that the German-background churches of Chicago are to be found only among the churches which move, federate, or die. In Chicago these bodies have no downtown churches (although it should be noted that they do have inner city churches which tend to take on the characteristics of sectional downtown churches), no rescue missions, no institutional churches, no Christian centers or neighborhood houses. In other words, all the adjustments of these particular groups have been of a kind that permit them to continue functioning as "regular" historical churches.

Moving Churches

Moving churches are to be found among all the German-background Protestant groups in Chicago. This particular mode of adjustment, however, has been more prominent in the Evangelical Synod than in other bodies. Although two congregations of the American Lutheran Church have relocated themselves, most of the churches affiliated with this body were established in the early settled communities on the outer periphery of present-day Chicago,

¹S. C. Kincheloe, "Major Reactions of City Churches," Religious Education, XXIII (1928), 68.

and hence have not been under severe pressure of population shifts.

Congregations of the United Lutheran Church were established in Chicago at a relatively late period in the city's history and, operating solely in the English language, were, for the most part, situated in areas somewhat removed from the devastating Chicago frontier of Catholicism. Most interesting, however, is the fact that in the same general areas and in the face of the same destructive forces, the churches of the Missouri Synod have held their ground longer than the churches of the Evangelical Synod. A number of factors account for this phenomenon: First, the policy which the Missouri Lutheran churches have adopted in planting branch churches in the outer portions of the parish has created a formidable obstacle to relocation. Second, churches having parochial schools are "rooted in the community" and find it difficult to move. Third, fear of aggravating the language problem was probably a factor in deterring church relocation. Fourth, the ultra-conservative position of the Missouri Synod places stability at a premium. The Missouri Lutherans are extremely reluctant to alter anything--even the location of a church.

Following are the major characteristics of churches which have successfully relocated:

1. Although declining at the time of relocation, moving churches are still strong in numbers.
2. Moving churches are strong financially.
3. Moving churches must have strong pastors.
4. Churches which can relocate successfully must have been operating in the community which they are leaving for at least one generation.
5. A moving church must be able to relocate in the direction of its own particular population flow.

Federating Churches

Federating churches are prominent in Chicago only among the Illinois Synod churches of the United Lutheran Denomination. Federations have been very rare in the Wartburg and Evangelical Synods, and are non-existent among the Missouri Lutheran congregations of this city.

Among the German-background Protestant bodies in Chicago

there have been absolutely no mergers of once self-supporting congregations to offer a united front against a deteriorating community. Most Chicago federations have involved at least one mission congregation, and have been consummated at the suggestion of overhead organizations in order to conserve funds. Such mergers may involve joining two mission churches, or may involve joining a mission station to a strong established church in an adjoining area. Occasionally strong congregations which are compelled to move from inner-city areas and which find a mission church located in their proposed path of movement, will move out of the site of the mission and federate with it.

Never, we repeat, do two declining German-background churches in an area of transition unite within the area to mutually replenish their failing strength. Strong denominational ties are a major explanation of this phenomenon. In the history of Chicago, there have been only two mergers of German-background churches which cross denominational lines. It is probably true that these churches have had sufficient foresight to realize that federating within the decaying community does not solve the problem, it merely postpones the day when the issue must be faced squarely--and then ways and means of escape may not be available.

Characteristically, we find that at least one of the participants in a German-background Protestant federation is a weak church. For at least one of the uniting institutions, federation is the only alternative to death. Resources for any other adaptation are not available. Generally speaking, the weaker church of the union has had a rapid turnover in pastors throughout its history, has been subsidized over many years, and carries a high per-capita debt. Periods of contraction in church-extension operations are characteristically periods of federation for German-background Protestant bodies.

Dying Churches

Although numerous German-background Protestant churches are at the present time manifesting the symptoms of dying churches, very few congregations of these bodies have passed out of existence. Not one single Missouri Lutheran church has died, and only one Evangelical Synod church has closed its doors. It should be noted that we are speaking of churches which grew strong enough

to support themselves. A number of Missouri Lutheran and Evangelical Synod mission enterprises have been abandoned after two or three years of work. But even the "infant mortality" rate among the churches of these particular denominations has been amazingly low.

All the dissolved congregations among the United Lutheran churches have been mission institutions. Some of these churches were kept alive through many years by artificial respiration applied by the Home Mission Board--none of them were ever "going concerns." Mission enterprises of the English-speaking bodies have experienced their greatest difficulties in those very areas where German-speaking churches have been eminently successful. The latter group, on the other hand, has encountered its major church extension problems in the communities where the English Synods have enjoyed considerable success.

It is extremely interesting to note that the Synod which has made the fewest adaptations--which has had no federations, no church fatalities, and only two or three moving churches--that Synod is doctrinally the most conservative. The Missouri Synod churches have refused to identify themselves with worldly things by adapting to them. They have ardently sought to preserve their pure doctrine and pure practice founded on the Holy Scriptures. They have gloried in the fact that they do not compromise; they point with pride to their refusal to accommodate themselves to the spirit of the times. The Missouri Synod is "in the world but not of it."

In the light of the fact that a number of Missouri Synod churches are today persisting in Chicago through the sheer inertia of time-hallowed attachments to once-great institutions, the question naturally arises as to the ultimate fate of these churches when the individuals thus attached have died off. Sunday morning worship services of these institutions are attended by old people--as compared to the age distribution of worshippers in outer areas. Deep-rooted loyalties are not likely to be passed along to another generation. Unless changes of an unexpected character alter the communities of the inner city, the Missouri Lutheran churches in this area will be brought right up to the brink of death as their already old constituencies die off. The isolating barriers of language and parochial school have already broken down in some of these churches. There is reason to believe that

the realm of week-day activities will see significant changes in the near future. We already have some indication of these changes in the extensive athletic programs being launched in certain Missouri Lutheran congregations.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

It is obvious, from the foregoing chapters, that each of the German-background bodies in Chicago has been compelled to accommodate itself to forces and factors in the environing urban American culture. The degree to which social accommodation has been carried varies among these denominations. The body which has kept adaptation at a minimum is the Missouri Lutheran Synod; then come the American Lutheran Church, the United Lutheran Church, and the Evangelical Synod in the order named.

The ultra-conservative position of the Missouri Lutheran Synod is primarily explained by the holy zeal which it has cultivated for "keeping The Word pure." The early founders of the Missouri Synod saw around them the numerous Lutheran bodies which had been working in America for several generations. These latter bodies, though flying the banner of Lutheranism, had assimilated much of the New World culture, and had accordingly compromised the Pure Truth. The Missouri Synod, as soon as it was established in the United States, was able to see plainly what happened if great care were not exercised to protect the pure doctrines. Hence, this Synod has set itself resolutely against all adaptation and assimilation.

Why did not the Evangelical Synod, which was founded at about the same time and in the same area as the Missouri Synod, share in this reactionism? The answer is to be found in the European origins of the two bodies. The early Missouri Lutherans came from Saxony where the Lutheran Church was dominant. The early Evangelical Synod people came from Prussia, and had been members of the Prussian state church which was created in 1817 by merging Lutheran and Reformed churches. The people who came from Prussia were not so much concerned about doctrinal issues--they stressed intensity of belief rather than correctness of belief.

Although the Americanizing influences have penetrated into practically every phase of the institutional life of the

German-background Protestant churches, it is apparent that adaptation has not been effected as readily or as easily in some areas as in others. Stiffer resistance has been offered to the encroachments of some elements of the American culture than to other elements. What has been the cutting edge? What factors have been inherent in the process of adaptation which condition the acceptance or rejection of American cultural elements?

It seems that those areas in the religious life of these immigrant churches which were undefined or unchanneled by European precedent were the realms in which assimilation of American culture elements was most easily effected. When these transplanted German churches reached America, they had no European pattern after which they could model their ecclesiastical organizations. As a result, the introduction of a democratic system of church government, patterned after the political set-up of the United States government, readily met with the approval of the various congregations. Money-raising and soul-winning techniques were lacking in the German church, accordingly the instruments of the American churches already in the field were adopted. The state churches of Germany operated with state-supported seminaries; since the government of the United States did not support seminaries, the early Synods did not hesitate to establish private denominationally supported theological schools.

On the other hand, the early members of the German-background churches did bring from the Homeland a language, a liturgy, a sermon-pattern, and a broad stream of religious tradition deeply rooted in the cultural heritage. Accordingly, these elements of church life were carried over directly from the church in Germany to the German church in America. Since the Synods functioned at first in a constituency of German-born families, they felt no pressure to change liturgy, sermon-pattern, language or theology.

The first adaptations of these immigrant bodies, then, were on an organizational level. Only those changes were made which were essential to the functioning of the group in a new environment. As Synods entered into competition with Old Line American denominations, increasing emphasis was placed on the German character of their churches. The mere fact that a given Protestant religious institution was German in origin was sufficient inducement to Germans in America to join the body. When, however, German-background churches found themselves competing

with one another for the loyalty of German immigrants, they had to establish and defend their individuality on other than cultural bases. As a consequence, doctrinal differences were magnified to differentiate the various Synods from one another.

Since each of the German-background churches, when thrown in contact with other denominations, took refuge behind certain cultural elements which distinguished it from Old Line American churches, and also behind certain theological doctrines which distinguished it from the other German churches, Synods soon became convinced that continuation in this land depended entirely upon the ability to preserve intact these fortifications. In the mind of early German-American Protestants, the struggles for language, liturgy, and school were actually struggles for the preservation of the church itself.

Cultural walls were the first to dissolve and crumble in the process of adaptation. The dissolution of cultural barriers appears to be most rapid at the time when the congregation is faced with the problem of keeping within its pale the second and third generation of immigrants. The children, in general, are prone to conform to the religious as well as to other social customs of the New World. A strengthening of theological position usually accompanied decay of cultural barriers.

It is apparent, then, that upon taking root in America, two fundamental processes began to manifest themselves in the German-background churches. On the one hand there was the adaptation to the American environment, the lifting out of the new culture those elements which answered needs peculiar to the new situation and, on the other hand, a process of differentiation which was an effort to accentuate non-adaptation, an effort to stress differences. This process of differentiation or reactionism is primarily responsible for the fact that Lutheran churches in America tend to be doctrinally more conservative and orthodox than the Lutheran churches of Germany from which they took their rise.¹

In spite of zealous protection, however, even those doctrinal positions upon which the immigrant church has built its justification of existence as an independent denomination have

¹H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929), p. 232.

been breaking down before the onslaughts of the relentless processes of Americanization. This introduces a second major problem: Just how far will this process of adaptation go? Will it result in a complete assimilation of the German-background Protestant churches into American Protestantism?

Although temporary differentiation and conflict have taken place in some phases of the religious life of these bodies, conflict and competition inevitably have been resolved into co-operation and assimilation. The most jealously guarded and zealously protected areas of the German churches have been invaded by the impinging American culture. It is quite obvious that the German-background churches, along with other immigrant churches, are ultimately destined to be dissolved in the melting pot of American Protestantism. Many of the immigrant church bodies are existing today as independent denominations merely because of the pure inertia of time-honored custom and denominational pride. The social causes which divided these immigrant bodies among themselves and from the Old Line American churches have, in general, ceased to be operative. With the most potent sources of continued separation thus removed, secondary barriers will fall in the process of accommodation and synthesis which will undergird union for self defense against a common enemy--perhaps secularism.

It must not be construed that this ultimate flowing together of denominations is going to mean a complete and all-pervading assimilation of the New World religious culture by the German-background Synods. This would mean complete extinction of the immigrant church, its tradition and its teaching. The scope of this study has been essentially limited to an analysis of the adaptations which have been effected by the German-background Protestant churches; we have not been especially concerned with the adaptation which the Old Line American churches have made to the immigrant bodies. Nevertheless, it is characteristic of cultural interpenetration that there is never a complete extinction of one culture, instead the new culture which emerges is a product of the interaction of the two original conflicting cultures. Beyond a doubt, the immigrant church bodies have historically made some very fundamental contributions to American Protestantism. Furthermore, in the process of adaptation through which these Synods have passed, a wealth of experience has been gained which must some day make a contribution to those Old Line bodies which

have never looked upon American Protestantism from the "outside."

In a sense, the Old Line American churches can see in the sweeping Americanization processes to which these immigrant groups have been subjected, a highly illuminated epitome of the very processes by which they themselves are conditioned by current political, social and economic tendencies. The inevitability of the whole process is appalling. It is quite possible that some of the indifference on the part of German-background churches to social problems might be attributed to the feeling of helplessness in stemming the rapid advances of the Americanization processes.

Another problem which comes into prominence when dealing with the adaptation process is: What further modification and changes are essential to the self-preservation of the German-background churches? In other words, what specific areas of religious life will require further adaptation to insure the continued existence of these churches? We cannot presume to analyze all these fields, but it is probably appropriate that a few of the more obvious areas of maladjustment be indicated.

Apparently the German-background churches as a whole are not meeting the needs of the young people in post-confirmation years. A survey of the Northwest Sector, conducted by the Department of Social Research and Survey of the Chicago Theological Seminary, reports as one of its major findings the fact that the Continental European Protestant churches of that sector are not holding the third and fourth generations of their background population. It is further noteworthy that numerous Lutheran and Evangelical Synod pastors throughout Chicago are complaining that confirmation means "graduation from religion" to many of the children. This probably indicates that the catechetical system of bringing children into the church is breaking down. For many Lutheran families, confirmation is coming to be an empty ceremony--it is simply "the right thing to do." It involves no emotional commitment to the church, and the hopelessly outmoded catechisms currently used cannot produce an intellectual commitment. There is urgent need for revision of the catechisms of these bodies to bring them into closer harmony with the scientific teachings of contemporary educational institutions. There is also an obvious need of translating these catechisms into language which children of confirmation age can understand.

The German-background churches still lack techniques for approaching unchurched people in this city. The change from an avowed purpose of Christianizing German America to the aim of Christianizing all America has been relatively recent and may account for the present-day inefficiency in reaching the unchurched.

Churches in general get new members through three primary sources: from unchurched groups, from other churches by letter or transfer, and from the children of members--biological reproduction. The German-background Protestant churches of Chicago are not making effective entry to the unchurched groups, they do not take in very many new members by letter from other churches, and, finally, not only is the birth rate declining as the churches become more Americanized, but the churches are failing to hold those children who are born into the denomination. In view of these facts, it would seem that the methods and messages of single congregations operating in given communities, and of overhead organizations conditioning operations in this metropolitan area, need to be modified so as to reach the unchurched and to hold their own background population.

Another area requiring more recognition and further adaptations lies in the realm of social issues. The traditional attitude of the German Synods toward these problems must be revised and there must be a further development of sensitivity to social issues. Especially in the individual congregation, the pastor must be increasingly alert to the particular tensions which exist in his local community. With the isolating factors of school and language rapidly disappearing, these churches will be compelled to "move into the world."

In the light of problems now facing some of the German-background churches in Zone Two, it is imperative that many of these congregations, if they are to persist, dig into the local community. These churches cannot move, and some have already tried a program of vigorous orthodox preaching. Historically the German-background Protestant bodies of Chicago have provided no other solution. Today the only choice is extinction or some new modification. In the past, the church has tended to modification rather than extinction. On this basis, therefore, it is reasonable to expect that a type of ecclesiastical institution foreign to the traditional pattern of immigrant congregations will develop out of these new crisis situations.

The new attack on community life will call for the establishment of Chicago German-background Protestant City Organizations. In the commonly accepted sense of the word, these bodies have no city organizations. Work in underprivileged areas among people of non-German background can only be given adequate direction and support by some co-ordinating institution.

It is apparent that use of the German language is destined to disappear from practically all of the German-background Protestant churches in Chicago. German services may persist in those congregations functioning in areas of first settlement for German immigrants, but in general, with the passing of the German-born members, these churches will become all English-speaking institutions. It should be noted, however, that many generations will pass before these bodies will be able to attack contemporary problems apart from their traditional German heritage.

It is also apparent that the parochial school is doomed to pass out of the Chicago picture. It is probably fair to say that the Christian day School is today more of a liability than an asset to the Missouri Synod churches of this city. The parochial school and the German language have hitherto served to shelter the Missouri Lutheran Synod churches from the full impact of American social processes. The language barrier has already been pierced, so with the passing of the parochial school, the Missouri Synod will be fully exposed to the main currents of American religious movements.

In concluding this document, it seems that a few observations concerning the process of adaptation as we have seen it functioning in the German-background Protestant churches of this city are in order. Adaptation has taken place in terms of three long-time trends--Americanization, Urbanization, and Secularization. These three trends are so closely interrelated that it would be sheer folly to indicate any specific change or modification as an exclusive product of Americanization, Urbanization, or Secularization. Nevertheless, as an instrument for analyzing the forces and factors which have entered into the process of adaptation, we can think of these three concepts as operating in relatively defined realms.

In general, the major reactions of the Chicago German-background Protestant churches represent the primary adaptations of the group to urbanization processes, to city growth and expan-

sion. Furthermore, special reactions called forth in answer to particular urban situations should be included under this concept--branch churches and the colonization technique of church re-location are examples of these special responses.

By "Americanization" we mean essentially those processes whereby these immigrant churches have come to appear and behave more and more like the traditional and historic Old Line Protestant ecclesiastical institutions. Language, Sunday schools and private seminaries are some of the more obvious fields in which conformity to traditional American patterns has been effected.

Secularization is a long-time trend which includes either abandonment to the community of functions which were once considered an essential part of the church program, or including in the church program certain functions which were formerly classified as non-religious. Education and relief are examples of the first phase; gymnasium programs and the social gospel constitute good examples of the second phase.

Adaptation among the Lutheran and Evangelical Synod churches of Chicago has not represented an aggressive or prophetic attack on the religious needs of a New World culture. Modification, assimilation, and conformity have not been effected as voluntarily self-imposed techniques for meeting current problems before these problems could produce crisis situations. Instead, adaptation has generally appeared in answer to crisis situations as an instrument of self-preservation. Adaptation in these bodies has not tended to be a forward looking thrust into the whole problem of effective functioning in an American environment; it has tended rather to be solely a defense mechanism designed to avoid extinction of the group, a "last straw" escape from denominational annihilation.

